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## ABSTRACT

The present descriptions of play of children two to five are based on the theory that the four processes of understanding include four different emphases: (1) imitation, (2) exploration, (3) prediction, and (4) construction (building, etc.). Therefore, the categories of children's play discussed are transformations of each of these types. Play is a reversal of the usual adaptive behavior sequences and permits the subject more variation and control over the instrumental behavior within these sequences. Play, while not always self-evident, usually occurs in a space set aside for toys and play activity at established times after adult-required activities, and is accompanied by signs of pleasure, relaxation, and excitement. Play is voluntary and often includes role playing. The observer of play must note who is being portrayed, what acts are being expressed, and what the setting and time are within the play activity. The categories included in this paper deal only with self-play as distinguished from social play. Extensive descriptions of play at specific ages make up most of the document. (AJ)

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A DESCRIPTIVE ACCOUNT OF FOUR MODES OF CHILDREN'S  
PLAY BETWEEN ONE AND FIVE YEARS.

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This is a preliminary statement, representing a basis for  
observations and further categorizations to be carried out  
in the Spring of 1971. It can be used for play diagnostic  
purposes as it stands, but the user should be aware that  
there may be many phenomena that escape these categories.

December, 1970

INTRODUCTION

The present descriptions of play are based on the theory that the processes of knowing or understanding include four different emphases. While any act of knowing may well involve all of these, they are separable, because there are times when one or other of these emphases predominates in a child's activity. The four processes of knowing are imitation, exploration, prediction and construction.\*

A child knows through imitation, when he copies the acts of someone else. Modelling theories of learning place a great reliance on the child's capacity for this sort of knowing. Much imitation is covert, as in observational or latent learning: some is overt and exaggerated as in mimicry.

A child knows through exploration when he seeks to analyse how things work how they came to be the way they are, and what they can do. The emphasis here is upon the child discovering the connections between things, places or people in the world outside of himself.

A child knows through prediction, when he tests out whether his own behavior will have the effects he thinks it will have. Here he is testing himself out. He is seeking self-validation in the relationship between

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\* Each involves a basic theory of truth, namely that truth can be obtained through correspondence, through causal analysis, through pragmatic outcome or through coherence. The assumption here is that these classic theories of truth themselves reflect underlying processes in the genetics of epistemology.

himself and the outside world. While the emphasis in exploration is on the objective world and its interconnections, the emphasis in prediction is upon the subjective world and its possibilities. Operant forms of learning might be considered to reflect this form of knowing.

A child knows through construction when he puts things together in his own way. When the pieces of the pattern fit to provide some new meaningfulness, some higher level operation, then, in effect, we have learning through construction. Cognitive theories of learning as well as general theories of cognition (Piagetian, Gestalt) might exemplify this type of approach.

It is necessary to point out, that this is an organismic or active theory of the way in which the child knows. It suggests that most theories of learning and cognition derive their substance from one of these basic processes in the capacity of the active organism.

In the pages that follow, children's play is approached as a transformation of each of these types of knowing. Exploration becomes exploratory play; imitation becomes imitative play, prediction becomes testing, and construction becomes world building.

Unfortunately it is not easy to be sure when this transformation from an adaptive act of knowing to play knowing has occurred. There hasn't been sufficiently precise study to establish clearly when a child passes across the boundaries from one to the other. Furthermore the types themselves are not always distinct. In the meantime it seems wiser to be over inclusive than the contrary. It is better to include things we may later discard than to leave things out we might wish we had kept.

### Play Definition

If we consider the human organism as goal seeking and various

... goals, then play is a transformation which reverses this state of affairs. In play the goals subserve the instrumental behavior, and in the most "playful" states the instrumental behaviors may become completely detached from the original goals. For example: a child first learning to solve a jigsaw puzzle applied himself with earnestness and he may even cry if not able to complete it. Later after mastery and some repetition he begins to vary the process with less concern about the final result which he can now take for granted. He puts pieces in the wrong places and corrects himself with mock astonishment. Later he takes the pieces and playfully traces round them with a pencil.

Play then is a reversal of the usual adaptive behavior sequences permitting the subject more control over and variation of the instrumental behavior within these sequences. This reversal is accompanied by feelings of autonomy and funfulness.

### Evidences

None of the observable signs that play is occurring are foolproof. Several together are more likely to be valid. Play is a special kind of human intentionality reversing the usual order of events. It is not surprising that it is not always self-evident. Here are some of the useful cues:

- (1) Affect. Signs of pleasure, laughter, fun, relaxation, excitement, self-amusement, aimlessness, power, autonomy.
- (2) Space. It occurs in a place usually set aside for play with toys, apparatuses etc.
- (3) Time. It occurs at established times in between or after the adult required activities of the home or school.

(4) Acts. The acts are characterized by a voluntariness; the child can make the choices he wants to and put behavior together in different sequences regardless of the nature of the surroundings. There is greater variation than usual. There is pretence. There are new combinations and novelty.

(5) Roles. There are shifts from the usual role requirements and usual role relationships. Novel characterizations and novel relationships occur.

When observing play itself once satisfied that play is indeed occurring, ask the following questions:

(1) Who: is being portrayed. Is the child acting himself or someone else. If the latter, is it a parent, adult, child etc. If several roles are involved (mother and baby) what are their respective powers; who bosses who? What else can we say about their relationship?

(2) What acts are expressed or portrayed with what agencies, objects or apparatuses.

(3) Where is the action taking place? Distinguish the setting for play from the setting within play (playground from playhouse).

(4) When is this occurring: again distinguish time for play and time within play.

#### Method of Study

The suggested approach is to use the items suggested in the following check lists as possible events in the play life of the children observed. If a time sample is taken of each child's behavior throughout the period of observation (per day, week, month, depending on available observers) then his activities can be checked off against these lists. Preferably notes should be taken of the who, what, where and when as above (or video-taped if available) for a brief several minute period. It is most probable that the

present lists are not exhaustive, that items should be added, and that categories should be reconsidered. In effect, this reformulation will proceed apace with the use of the list diagnostically.

Diagnostically the recording of the child's characteristic play behaviors permits an assessment of his play maturity level. Are all the examples of his play behavior at one level of activity (at second year, at third year etc.), or do they spread across several levels? Is his play of all four types or a majority of one type only. If his play is of only one type should play intervention be planned? (See Smilansky, S. "The effects of sociodramatic play on disadvantaged children." NY: Wiley, 1968)

The items below are classed by year, type and example. Thus imitations in the second year are (2:I). If it is the first example, it becomes 2:I:1. Explorations are E; testing is T and construction is S. In addition to these major types of play activity, we have to consider separately social play with other children and with adults. This will be designated S. We will distinguish social play from self play, which is the four types dealt with above. Within social play again we distinguish between social play with adults and social play with children. The play with adults is generally on the highest level of complexity. In the play with children we must again distinguish the play and games themselves from the social maneuvering that goes on around the play concerning who gets to run the game, to be boss etc. The latter we will refer to as gameplay (which is the social psychology of the event). While social play could be categorized into the same four classes as self-play, this has not been done yet awaiting further conceptualization of the system. Most of it, however, is a form testing, leading to the contesting of childhood games.

Second year 12 to 24 months

Synopsis: The child stands about 15 months and develops one and two word sentences in the rest of the year. Becomes a walking, runabout tot. Is extremely active exploring and testing everything that can be reached. Tries to do whatever he sees adults doing but imitations are partial. Thus the shoe is put beside the foot but not on it. Is very preoccupied with the basic vectors of motion, in and out, up and down, twisting around. Constantly emptying containers and filling them. Often cannot make things fit properly; perception of relationships are too diffuse. Loves things that can be got into or climbed on, drawers, doors, cupboards, sofas; and items that can be shifted and carried about, pots, shoes, books, soft toys, blocks, pull toys, hammer toys, sand and water. Most advanced play is social play with adults (other children are explored rather than played with) and games of hide and seek chasing, pecking, retrieval, acting and horse play are possible.

The items below can be suggestive only. What is needed is an inventory of each setting in which the children play. Then a check list of events can be developed and the children's progress with these scored. Also given this check list play "interventions" become possible.



I. IMITATIONS

(2:I:1)

Imitations of one's own behaviors but in a different place. This transfer usually involves a fairly close reproduction of the original behavior, but its new location and perhaps an accompanying smile. Give away the new play intention.

Examples

sleeping or going to bed routine

eating routines

washing routines

getting dressed routines

(2:I:2)

Imitations of someone else's behavior. Copies of the actions of parents and other adults (not usually of other children, though that would be included here if it occurred). Maybe done with usual or toy objects. Note that these are segments of another's behavior only, not a complete identification.

reading a book

sewing

sweeping

telephoning

piano playing

washing dishes

unloading dish-washer

wearing shoes, hats, scarves

## EXPLORATIONS (2E)

<u>Modes of exploratory activity</u>	<u>Objects with which the subject is often concerned</u>
hammering, pounding	wooden peg board
tactile	textures, shapes, edges
looking	books, pictures
emptying and filling	sand, buckets, boxes, blocks, containers, pots
inserting and pulling out	holes, for fingers and threading sticks
stacking and destroying	blocks
picking	counters
bouncing, rolling, retrieving	balls
creeping and crawling through and into	boxes and barrels

## (Materials for Exploratory Play)

For exploratory play to proceed maximally the objects need particular attention. Blocks, for example, should be large and small, round, square, triangular, wide and narrow, high and low, deep and shallow, steep and level, sloping and flat, thick and thin.

Weights: wooden boxes, cardboard boxes, heavy and light objects.

Divisible properties: wood, clay.

Porose properties: water, paper, cloths, paper towels, sand soil.

Compressible properties: rubber balls, footprints, pillows.

Elastic properties: Balls, rubber bands.

The environment for play should be examined along the lines above or in terms of the concepts in the cognitive system. One asks the question: where does the child here get exploratory experience and play at such relationships as in, out, into, out of etc.

### TESTING (2T)

running	- clear open spaces, hand and footballs to run after; wagons to pull, planks raised from ground at one end to give a running start.
throwing	- bean bags, hoops or boxes to throw balls into to.
jumping	- bouncing board, jumping pit, low objects to step off
climbing	- stairs, jungle gym, rubber tires
pedaling	- kiddy cars
pushing and pulling	- blocks, wagons
hitting and punching	- punch bag
kicking	- punch bag on string at slight height
supporting weight	- low horizontal bar
swimming, splashing	
balancing	- two by four beams

### CONSTRUCTIONS (2C)

Some objects (toy, block etc.) is made to take the part of another creature or object.

the doll is made to sleep

eat

be clothed

## SOCIAL PLAY WITH ADULTS (2:S)

## (2:S:1)

Games of appearance and disappearance

These games derive from the establishment of object constancy at the end of the first year. They are peeking and peek-a-boo games. Doors, tables, blankets, may be used as the barrier behind which the face is temporarily hidden. The sudden appearance of the face is an occasion for laughter. While the adult initiates these games in the first year: in the second year we watch for the child to initiate peeking, popping up and jack in the box behavior. Observe when and where and in what circumstances the child will respond to or initiate this peeking play.

## (2:S:2)

Games of strange appearances

Not unrelated to the above, is the child's fear of strangers' faces which peak at about 11 months. This is the basis for much fun with familiar faces that take on strange appearances. By distorting your face, humour and laughter can be produced. There are innumerable distortions. Also hats and scarves can be worn in odd ways with similar results. When does the child reverse the process and pull funny faces? This is funny faces play.

## (2:S:3)

Games of chasing and capture

At about a year the infant will follow you if you move away: this can be turned into a game of attempting to get away but being caught (allowing oneself to be caught). In the second year, this will reverse so that you can chase the child, with shrieks and enjoyment at the capture. The first game of appearance and disappearance and the third of chasing and capture in due course become Hide&Seek.

## (2:S:4)

Games of Hide and Seek

At about the end of the second year, taking turns at hiding and seeking becomes possible. More usually, however, the adult hides and the child seeks.

## (2:S:5)

Games of retrieval

Children understand language long before they can use it. They will bring you well known objects with which names are associated. Like a dog, they will enjoy fetching an object (ball) that is thrown away. A variation is to have them take an object to different people (naming them in turn).

### Games of Acting

At about the end of the first year, adult enjoyment of the child's clothes, or funny appearance leads to audience consciousness, so that the phenomena of "on stage" behavior occurs in the second year. Any movement (head shaking) or funny apparel (hat on head) which leads to laughter and enjoyment by adults, will lead the child to repeat the act with half an eye to the effect that it is creating. The game is enjoined, when the adult, perhaps after putting a hat on the child, responds with audience appreciation.

(2:S:7)

### Game of physical vertigo

Throughout the first year babies properly handled have enjoyed being lifted in the air, hung upside down by their feet, swung by the arms, thrown up in the air, carried on the shoulders etc. These games may continue in the second year and become more boisterous. They include the child jumping off the table or sofa into the arms of the adult; riding on the adult's back when the adult is horse; riding on the adult's stomach, when the adult is horse backwards with hands on ground; sitting on the adult prone or supine, while the adult bounces the child up and down.

(2:S:8)

### Games of physical nonsense

There are conventional ways of handling and behaving towards a baby physically and there are unconventional ways. The latter are a source of social play. Some of this play is mouth play, involving nonsense sucking or blowing sounds, sometimes made against the babies flesh. The baby responds with laughter and imitation. Some of this play is done with tactile means--tickling, mild slapping etc.

(2:S:9)

### Rhythmic and Nursery Rhyme Games (Lullabies)

The use of these depends on their relevance to local circumstances, but there are a number which involve partial imitation as well as a crescendo of anticipation. The classic source is: The Oxford Dictionary of Nursery Rhymes, by Peter Opie (Oxford, 1951). Examples:

Pat a cake

This little pig went to market

A farmer went a trotting

language games (sound-making imitations)

## Play with other children (2:Sc)

## (2:Sc:1)

Exploratory social engagement

Young children will examine each other like objects, but this can include giving and taking, pushing and hitting and hugging and kissing. Record needs to be kept of these preliminary manoeuvres, including simply watching and observing (the most common) the other child's behavior.

## (2:Sc:2)

Replications of adult-child social play

Occasionally the child reproduces with another his own experience in play with adults. Running and chasing, acting and retrieving are the most likely examples.

THE THIRD YEAR

25 to 36 months

Synopsis

Talks in sentences, toys are now clearly symbolic and become closely attached (dolls, soft toys, etc.). Exploration and testing are more specific and efficient. Fluctuates from dependence to independence, assertion to negativism. Requires considerable support in his own routines and own places and own things as he converts sequences of behavior into an organized self. Routines become rituals. Fantasy and pretence are very vivid and adult participation in them sometimes solves problems. Uses tools (brushes, sticks, etc. to explore and test). Can handle one other at a time usually. Listens to and tells stories.

It should be noted that much of the play of this year (as of each subsequent one) will be a continuation of the plays of the previous years.

## IMITATIONS (3:I)

Identifying with another person (3:I:1)

The child now acts the part of another person completely. We need to note particularly what persons are regularly identified with and how closely their behaviors are imitated or departed from. The persons and acts give

S-S

13.

some clue as to the validations sought by the child. It is expected that the child will pretend to be an adult doing adult like things to other children, dolls. Emphasis is on replication of adult behavior.

being mother

father

uncle

But animals are also imitated and sometimes more easily on all fours

dogs

cats

If there is another baby in the family they may be imitated this early

baby

#### Identifying toys with object (3:I:2)

When toy is used strictly to replicate adult behavior, dolls (even for boys) are now much more important; their symbolism being grasped. More likely when there are younger brothers and sisters. Toys of appropriate sizes; toy corners etc. help. But things should appear gradually so exploration of each is first possible.

#### EXPLORATION (3:E)

The exploratory play of two years was simple and piecemeal. Play now becomes more integrated with combinations and building. There is more novelty in the combinations of motor elements, rather than a simple discharge of one response system. He can manipulate and watch the results at the same time. Note that the use of tools in manipulation is a big step from direct use of hands.

combining

counters, blocks

transferring

moulding

clay, plasticene

spreading

sand

heaping

squeezing, making holes, rolls, balls

clay

breaking and mending

clay, plasticene

using tools (sticks etc.)

with clay

finger painting

crayoning poster colors

easels (30")

stringing

beads (wooden)

scissoring

paper and scissors

lacing

cards and holes

Recommended objects: eggbeater, linking blocks (as trains), water, sponges, pans, soap suds, soda straws, bubble pipe, floating toys, clay, plasticene, flexible plastic for cutting out, cigar box blocks.

fitting puzzles

geometrical shape pieces

animal shape cut outs

peg boards

flannel play sets

building towers (about  $2\frac{1}{2}$ )

### TESTING (3T)

All of the second year tests are still important, running, throwing, jumping, climbing, pedalling, pushing, pulling, hitting, punching, kicking, balancing, splashing etc.

But instead of running at large and climbing only simple steps, both these and other tests become more specific and of a higher level.

climbs onto narrow spaces or seats

climbing apparatus low to ground, with ladders, tunnels, etc.

can walk a line heel to toe

can hop two or three steps on one foot

will walk on a balance beam

can throw a ball about ten feet

hanging by arms

parallel bars (36" high, 14" apart)

marching and dancing

records (rhythmic)

### Objects:

Packing cases, cardboard boxes, barrels, wheelbarrows, outdoor large size blocks, large balls, pedal carts, balls to roll on.



## CONSTRUCTIONS (3C)

(3:C:1)

Identification with elaboration

This is the same as category 3:I:1, except that the focus is less on strict imitation than on incorporation of the pretended figure into a novel construction. Although imaginary figures usually come in the next year, their appearance at this time certainly lifts the activity into the constructed domain. Note that a primary feature of these worlds may be their organized compulsive character. The construction is an imaginary one to us (the child uses objects as substitutes for real things) but the player may not think of it as make-believe, but as a real world he has constructed. He may be upset by suggestions that he add make-believe elements.

(3:C:2)

A toy symbolizes another object in a play world

The term toy has this connotation: toy trucks, dolls etc. Need to distinguish whether the child is exploring the toys as a sensory-motor object or clearly sees it as an item in a game of pretence. When it is used as a part of a world of construction, a game of house etc., then it is an example of this category. It is the novel combinations of imitated elements and the over all pattern that helps us decide whether to place the observation here or earlier. Familiar stuffed toys may begin to be a part of imaginary worlds.

(3:C:3)

Social Worlds: Dyads

The child creates dyads in his play: mother and baby, need to note carefully who the players symbolized are and what acts take place

Mother and baby,	feeding
	talking
	bathing

It is asserted that the child incorporates others into his world before he portrays himself.

## SOCIAL PLAY (Adults)

(3:S:1)

Story Games

Participation in the telling of stories has become a game with the adult story teller. The child anticipates the outcome of familiar tales (three pigs, chicken licken) and participates with appropriate animal noises and machine noises. He enjoys to hear recapitulation of his own past actions, what happened and what he said and he repeats these as the

story progresses (these are affirmations of the developing self).

(3:S:2)

Rhyme Games

An extension of the rhythmic and rhyme games of the previous year (2:S:9) into more complex worlds such as Mother Goose.

(3:S:3)

Central Person: Child

Here the child is the child is the chief character in her own play and makes use of the other in a support capacity. The willing other is usually an adult, who is asked to look, to hand things (many examples in Susan Isaacs "Social Development), and in general to facilitate the progress of the child's own exploration, testing, imitation or construction. She may be asked to be the mother, in which case, find out whether the child can pretend she (the child) is her (the observers) baby.

### SOCIAL PLAY (Children)

Is capable of playing with one other at a time, and usually better with an older child of five or six.

(3:Sc:1)

Exploratory social engagements

This is as in (2:Sc:1) an examination of the other child, pinching, hugging, pushing, shoving. When the children are outdoors or have more equipment there is more possibility that they will proceed along parallel lines gaining something from observing each other go through similar processes. The parallel usage of each other as models needs and is worth considerable observation. When the child fits into the actions of an older person we have a preliminary form of central person play to be described later.

(3:Sc:2)

Chasing, Hiding and Finding

Taken over from the adult games, elementary forms of running after and running from, and hiding behind (usually without focal encounters) emerge in outdoor play.

(3:Sc:3)

Exploratory testing play

Combined pushing and pulling of wagons. Some toys and carts facilitate and lock the children into a co-operative arrangement temporarily at least.

(3:Sc:4)

Parallel Choral Activities

All running together, or marching together to the sound of music, or beating of drum. Begins here, better next year.

FOURTH YEAR

37 - 48 months

Synopsis: The two major events are the increasing interest in both group play and imaginative play. Until this time imaginative play with toys and settings has predominated. Now dramatic personification with imaginary character become equally important with expression to compensations and wish fulfilments. Feelings enter play. In creative activity, sand, clay, blocks, the product begins to be important and the response of others. Exploratory and testing responses have stabilized: they can hold a crayon and can run without falling.

IMITATIONS (4I)

Imitation now seems less important than world constructions and group play. The imitative elements are increasingly absorbed into those larger patterns, therefore, more difficult to separate out.

(4:I:1)

Imitative Personifications

The added distinction that was not in imitative identifications are the feelings that are now portrayed. At the earlier level the focus was on actions. This level includes feelings, and these maybe exaggerated or reversed. The parent is very angry and severely punishes the doll, etc.

(4:I:2)

Imitative anticipations

The child plays at what is going to happen (moving house) or what they are going to be when grown up (dawning of sex role anticipation). These are partly imitative and obviously constructions. They are put here because there is usually an emphasis on realism.

## EXPLORATION (4:E)

Exploration and manipulation have stabilized at a level of competence where many "school" type working at the desk or table performances are now possible

The following list indicates some of the materials that can enter into the exploratory play of this age level:

buttoning books

matching

sorting boxes

hammer and nail sets

paper cutting and designing shapes

(4:E)

Secrets and Surprises

There is a new interest expressed verbally in secrets and surprises

(4:E)

Visits and Excursions

Exploring places (though usually with adults) is now an important activity

(4:E)

Nature and plants

## TESTING (4:T)

AS BEFORE: The skills and tests mentioned above page 14 will reach a peak at this age level.

## CONSTRUCTIONS (4:C)

(4:C:1)

Social Worlds: Plurals

There are numbers of persons symbolized and different roles. These maybe relatives, friends and increasingly other children. Note the change to other children and to personification of the subject himself: note who

is represented by which objects or dolls. What types of groupings are portrayed; what are the implied relationships of a social sort. The most common game is the family game which all children understand and have some common ideas about. Roles can be changed from day to day in this sort of play- watch for these changes in each child as he tries out different facets of his relationships.

#### (4:C:2)

##### Imaginary Characters

These may be the fairly permanent imaginary companions, or temporary characters used as a part of play: they are sometimes monsters, animals, dwarfs, etc. They help in carrying out acts not permitted elsewhere or extending the self into domains otherwise inaccessible. Play may involve basic psychosexual matters (oral, anal, genital), be compensatory, wish fulfilling, cathartic or liquidating, or they may anticipate sex role identities of the future. What is important is that the child is now able to use imaginary creatures (including dolls and soft toys) to deflect anger and express feelings. Play has become a vehicle for defense mechanisms.

### SOCIAL PLAY (4:S)

#### (4:S:1)

##### Role reversal games

Now that the child can imagine the adult in his own play and portray his feelings, it is possible for the same adult to pretend he is the small child, or small animals, and let the child be the daddy or mummy. It is important in these games not to exaggerate one's power, but to diminish it. Limits may have to be set if the child becomes too tyrannical, but the aim is a humorous role switching. Chasing or Hide and Seek with fathers is a highlight

#### (4:S:2)

##### Story-reversals

Similarly the child now wishes to recall the events of the day at Nursery School, to be the story teller, rather than the participator in another tale.

#### (4:S:3)

##### Story participation

Using picture books (animals, places) or imaginary characters, children can make up stories with their parents, sharing suggestions.

(4:S:4)

Puppet Play

Just as the child uses different dolls and soft toys for different family persons, so at this stage the adult can introduce finger puppets or paper puppets and give them different voices, letting the child participate as he or she wants, perhaps finally taking them over for her own performances or conversations

(4:S:5)

Music and Songs

Simple pitchless songs are possible. Participation with bells, drums, rattles, cymbals, rhythm sticks.

## SOCIAL PLAY (4:Sc)

Group play and being with others in various associative arrangements is now of primary importance to the children.

(4:Sc:1)

Imaginary Monsters

All the children run away or pretend to fight an imaginary or feared animal or monsters.

(4:Sc:2)

Role Associative play

These are most often family games with mothers, fathers and children, but sometimes are trains with conductors, drivers and passengers. It is important to note who takes which roles and whether these change day by day or remain fairly static. There are various sub categories for these associations:

- (a) Central person: where one child controls the allocation of roles and is the central person in the play itself. He may use physical or bargaining strategies to get the others to do his will.
- (b) Turn Taking: ability to entertain delayed gratifications permits understanding of turn taking, or role-alternations.
- (c) Associations: occur when the children do take different roles, but give them relative parity, the relationship being sufficiently loose that each exists within his own perspective without challenging the others, though overlapping with them considerably, in a shared imagination of the setting and its properties.  
(Play intervention is much easier in these games as adults can suggest games within the make-believe frame for other children in order to permit their involvement.)

(4:Sc:3)

Friends and Enemies

Some play companionship thrives on the co operation of two or several children against real or imagined enemies. Houses and safe places are built to keep the others out.

(4:Sc:4)

Choral words and actions

Some simple chanting or singing games now become possible although they usually require the leadership of an adult or older child.

FIFTH YEAR

49-60 months

Synopsis: This age takes the child to a peak of imaginative behavior and beyond into more conventional play and more conventional games. He is much concerned with being small and with compensating through exaggeration, competitiveness and humour. There is much boasting. He moves beyond the backyard to sidewalk play and even some exploration of nearby parks: in this he is carried by vehicles -- two and three wheelers. The construction games reach a peak of elaboration.

IMITATIONS (5:I)

There are added elements of mimicry and grimaces to the earlier personifications. Exaggeration is a way of dealing with size differences as well as revealing a sharper perception of "big" people.

(5:I:1)

Exaggerative Imitations

EXPLORATIONS (5:E)

The ability to move about more and to handle conventional toys and studies to a greater extent enlarges the range to be explored. There are:

Territories (parks, sidewalks)

Excursions (with adults)

Vehicles (beyond cars & trains) boats, planes, wagons, horses

Scene changes (country or city)

Collecting trips (leaves, insects)

Musical instruments (tone bars, rhythmic bands)

### TESTING (5:T)

(5:T:1)

#### Driving and Speed

There is much elaborate play on two wheel scooters, three wheel bikes. There is sometimes new competence with roller skates, ice skates, and even skis.

(5:T:2)

#### Swimming

(5:T:3)

#### Climbing

Climbing in easy trees, on fences or on packing case erections is important.

### CONSTRUCTION (5:C)

(5:C:1)

#### City Games

The spatial conceptions underlying various domestic, truck and train worlds now become elaborated with roads in clay tanks or in sand pits. The space is topographical but there are lines, or roads, or other connections joining each differentiated piece. This is true also of house play, where different rooms and spaces for the separate dolls are now added. Sex differences become more evident in these elaborations than was previously the case.



S-S

## SOCIAL PLAY (5:S)

(5:S:1)

### Conversational Play

This is varied and includes how and the questions of the child's daily doings, but also the general participation of the child in a conversational way, which with occasional exaggerations becomes a form of nonsense play. The child has some sense of rules and implications and attempts to make sense of his world with these.

(5:S:2)

### Board Games

Picture lotto, and other simple matching card games now become possible with adult guidance.

(5:S:3)

### Hunts

For hidden treasures, for easter eggs become focal.

## SOCIAL PLAY (5:Sc)

(5:Sc:1)

### Surrogate play

Some children of this age are now capable of playing like an adult with a visiting child or a newcomer or a younger child.

(5:Sc:2)

### Prisoners

The earlier games of friends and enemies which are games of exclusion, now reverse to games of prisoners in which one or more players keep others as their prisoners, building constructions around them which are supposedly enormous and which cannot be escaped from.

(5:Sc:3)

### Role Associative play-conversations

The earlier role associations which are mainly aggregates of action, now have added a much greater layer of talk, of collective monologues and some sharing (sometimes over generous, sometimes over possessive). Just as

these children converse with their parents so they converse with each other.

(5:Sc:4)

Choral Pastimes of a conventional nature

Earlier singing and movement now rises to folkgames long in the culture: Farmer in the Dell, Mulberry Bush etc. Sometimes led by teachers, these can often be led by an older child or a mature four year old. They require the organization of group behavior, role alternation, the selection of central characters, the ability to hold a circle (holding hands) and to pursue the sequence of recurring episodes.

(5:Sc:5)

Hide and Seek

The establishment of an It person and Hiding and Seeking with the first one seen the next: It is now possible. That is, the simplest versions of some of the chasing and skill games are now practised, though now always with a clear adherence to the rules, rather with a mimetic surface following of some of the features. (See Piaget J. The Moral Judgement of the Child)

## SUMMARY SHEETS FOR PLAY SYNTAX

25.

AGE	IMITATION	EXPLORATION	TESTING	CONSTRUCTION	SOCIAL ADULTS	SOCIAL CHILDREN
2nd	of own and others acts	with real objects	run, throw large-motor	objects as symbols	peeking, funny-faces, chase, hide, retrieval, acting, vertigo, nonsense, nursery	explore
3rd	identifications w. parents & of objects as toys	manipulations tools	climb, hop, balance, march, hang	toys, dyads	story, rhyme, central person	hide test choral
4th	personifications anticipations	matching puzzles secrets surprises visits natures		plurals imaginary characters	role-reversals story-reversals story-participation puppets	imaginary monsters associative play central persons turns friends & enemies choral-verbal
5th	exaggerations & mimicry	territories	vehicles speed	cities	conversations hunts lotto	surrogate prisoners conversations pastimes hide & seek